10; Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1945 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

437 444 563 926 opium on the quiet, grow rich at the expense of their neighbours. They usually come to Burma single but they can easily marry, for their prosperity attracts the young women, and then they settle down to raise a family of mixed blood, and make a real contribution to the life of the country.

463 313 231 The Karens are at home in the forests. In many cases they became expert foresters for the Government and for the timber firms. Where the use of elephants was needed they were largely employed. There were at the time of the invasion a number of Karen timber contractors owning elephants which they understood and knew how to catch and train and use in hauling logs from the jungles to the river banks where in the rains the swelling streams carried them down to the markets at Moulmein and Rangoon.

The Karens have established a safe way of training newly-caught elephants for timber use. Instead of the more cruel methods of jabbing and brow-beating often used by Indian elephant drivers, they tie the animals up to the large trees left near the point of the V-shaped corral that they build along the elephant runs in the jungle, and then they keep the animals from sleeping by continually feeding and working with them for five or more days, until they subdue their wild spirit and win them to obedience to their keepers. Thus in six months they can train a full-grown animal to follow the directions of its keeper and drag out logs.

177 797 212 From the first contacts with the "Younger White Brother" their desire to read the Book which he brought them was very keen. In the beginning men and some women of all ages went to school to be able to read the

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

342 tains numerous cracks and apertures, and may be easily removed to allow a corpse to be carried out. Similar partitions divide the sleeping apartment from the rest of the family-room. (See p. 65.)

361 When we come upon such a village, we may find it surrounded
342 by a stockade, as in the case of those in the Tharrawaddy district, where protection is thus obtained from tigers and other animals of the jungle and also from human prowlers. The stockade is made of bamboo poles, re-inforced by four rows of sharp pickets woven in and out of the fence. (See pp. 55, 57.) The gate of the stockade is constructed of large bamboos suspended from a cross-piece, so that they knock against one another when any one enters. Thus, the
●[231] approach of a visitor is well announced. Once inside of the enclosure and past the multitude of yelping dogs which the villagers keep, the visitor comes to the ladder by which access is gained to the communal abode. The ladder, like everything else, is made of bamboo and has small loose rungs that can be easily removed. To an American it looks inverted, for it is narrow at the bottom and wide at the top. If the sun is high, heat is reflected from the burn-
342 ing hot bamboos. Mounting to the floor, one steps gingerly along,
352 fearing the round flooring may turn under him. The hollow bam-
354 boos resound, as each rubs and creaks against its fellows. The whole
415 population seems to be peering out of their doors or peeping through the cracks. The visitor enters a doorway, without its door. The first thing in the room that strikes his attention is the fireplace ("hpa k' pu"), which is only a little way from the entrance. The intervening space is largely filled with water-joints, rice baskets, and various household utensils. This is called the water-joint place ("hti pu law"). The fireplace consists of four upright bamboos fastened in the floor beams below and reaching to the cross-beams above. On the floor a rough box-like enclosure is built around the bottoms of the poles and filled in with dirt and ashes. Three round stones, or more in case the family has two pots boiling at once, give support to the cooking vessels, while the fire underneath is fed with dry bamboo fuel. About three feet above the ashes there is a shelf made of bamboo splints with their hard surfaces downward to the fire. The soot deposit on the under side of this shelf prevents the flames from doing any damage. Pots, plates, and other utensils find their convenient resting-place upon the shelf. One or two other shelves above this serve as catch-alls for herbs, baskets, tin lamps, unused food, large knives ("dahs"), and almost anything else that finds its way into the house. A hole cut in each

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

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782 ca
[539]

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA

"Go away, all evil spirits.
Depart, all devils.
We and our children are going to stay here.
Do not remain near. Go. Go."

The members of each family then take up the various household tasks, including the building of the fireplace. If this is not completed the same night, they tie up their wrists to keep their "k'las" from wandering away and finish it the next morning. This is done among the Karen of Siam.

342 In the preceding pages of this chapter I have attempted to give a description of the Karen village-house. I do not say "home," for the Karen language has no word for home. The house is, however, something more than the eating and sleeping place of the village families: it is the center of their domestic life and worship and as such possesses a certain amount of sanctity. From what has been said above, it is clear that the village structure displays no attempts at artistic decoration, and is not made attractive by any of the touches that give so rich a meaning to the word "home" among Christians. The Karen bamboo house, located in a tropical climate as it is, affords a certain amount of physical comfort: the breezes blow through its airy walls, and one may lounge and gossip within during the heat of the day and not experience great oppression. At night, when the cool air begins to make itself felt, the open fire with its cheerful blaze attracts the story-teller, while out in the shadows the youthful lover strums his harp, and the children and the dogs play about in sufficient quietness not to disturb their elders.

●231 262 Everywhere common dogs are kept by the Karen. These are the ordinary smooth-haired pariah hounds, which are familiar to the traveler in all parts of the peninsula. Besides these there are the hunting-dogs, mentioned in the chapter on Hunting and Fishing.[1] Only in recent days have the Karen shown any inclination to raise cats. In the early days they professed not to eat these felines; but I can testify that, whatever their former antipathies to the cat tribe may have been in this regard, they no longer hesitate to eat the wild varieties of cats that are to be caught in the jungle. They also find rats palatable.

Pigs and fowls are the most common domestic animals among the Karen. Dr. Mason speaks of the pigs as being of the "small Chinese variety."[2] They are the property of the women and know

[1] See p. 162.
[2] *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXVII, Pt. II, 128.

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
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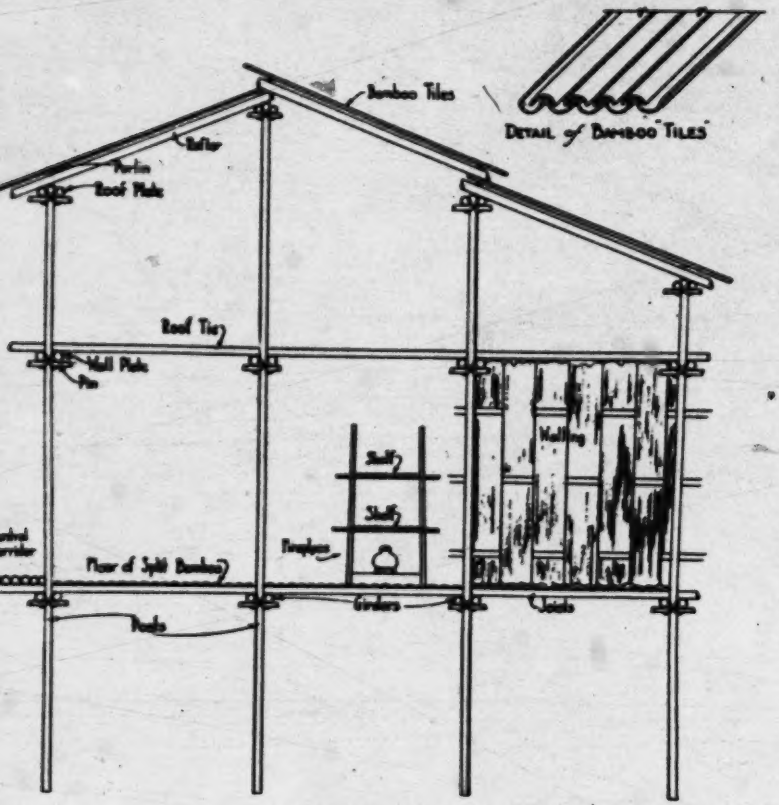
eir mistress's voice. When a woman dies, her pigs are killed in der that their "k' las" may accompany her into the next world. he fowls are of a variety not unlike the wild jungle-fowls found all er the country.

On the plains buffaloes have been extensively bred for use as aft animals and in cultivating the paddy-fields. As they are slow- oing creatures the small native oxen, often mistakenly identified ith the "sacred ox" from having a hump like the cattle supposed have been used in ancient Israel, have largely superseded them r draft purposes. In the Toungoo Hills oxen are employed to me extent as pack-animals, especially by the Paku tribe. Both e Paku and their neighbors, the Mawnepgha, raise a few goats, hile the Red Karen are breeders of ponies to some extent.



Side View of
A Bamboo Karen House
Kamedaeyi 1917

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

245 a vine-clad tree, which was called "pu la." Wanderers of other nationalities, happening to discover such trees, dispoiled them of their treasure by cutting the vines. Thus, but very few "pu la" remain.

Dr. Mason tells us that "Karen boys and maidens engaged in harvesting these leaves with great zest and it was not uncommon for young men, in seeking companions to inquire who were the most agile climbers of 'pu la' or betel leaf trees." [4]

231 The Karen in Toungoo have always raised more or less silk and woven the material for their best garments from it. The silk-worms are of a native variety and spin a thread far inferior to that of improved species. Not many years ago the attempt was made to introduce a worm of larger size, but it met with ill success, because the creature made a peculiar creaking sound in chewing the leaves of the mulberry tree. The superstitious people thought the new worms were possessed of some strange demon and killed them, in order to ward off an unknown danger.

314 Many of the inhabitants of Karenni gather stick-lac, which is
386 the deposit of an insect on certain trees found in the jungle. They also increase the supply by attaching the insects to other trees. The deposit is used extensively in making red dyes [5] and is marketed in Toungoo on the twigs to which it is attached.

231 The Karen is skilled in all jungle-craft. He knows the woods
137 and what may be found there. He has learned, among other things, that bees establish their hives high up in the branches of the oil-tree *(Dipterocarpus lociis)*. When he finds a new hive he marks the tree by putting a tuft of grass at its foot. Others will recognize the mark and respect his claim. To climb the fifty or seventy-five feet to the lower branches of these giant trees is no easy task. However, it is accomplished by means of pegs driven into the trunk and a rope encircling it. Often a honey-gatherer makes his ascent at night, lest he grow dizzy in looking down from such a height. Once at the hive, he smokes the bees out with a smudge and collects the honey into joints of large bamboo. The Karen villagers in the vicinity of Thandaung used to be called "Wild Bees" by the Burmans of Toungoo, on account of the supplies of honey which they brought in from their hills.

482 Besides the pursuits already mentioned, the Karen of the hills
492 sometimes engage in other occupations, such as transporting pro-

[4] *British Burma, Its People and Productions*, p. 495.
[5] See page 116.

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addy. A few paddy heads or even a few leaves of the ginger plant ay be inserted in the burrow as a talisman to make the supply of addy last the year out. The oblation on the threshing-floor or a milar one is then put on top of the paddy in the bin.

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The Karen who is untouched by outside influence does not like o take up any other occupation than that of raising paddy. He egards his other pursuits as occasional and accessory, including the athering of forest products, such as stick-lac and wild honey and he sale of fruit from the few mango trees he may possess. He has ot been found satisfactory as a day-laborer or coolie for any con-nued work; he avoids hiring out as a cartman and does not suc-eed as a petty trader. In more extensive business he has achieved uccess in only a few instances. With the advantages of education, owever, a few have prospered in commercial life and other callings. Many have entered Government service and risen to positions of rust. A large percentage of those who have passed through the chools are clerks and teachers. One of the largest department tores in Rangoon employs Karen clerks with satisfaction, besides uropeans. Educated Karen girls take employment as teachers nd nurse-maids, and recently a few have been engaging in clerical ork.

231●

TURNING THE BUFFALOES OUT TO GRAZE
These heavy animals are easily managed by Karen children, but are easily frightened by the presence of strangers.

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

223 of twenty or thirty bamboo splints, each fitted with its own slip-noose, is staked on the ground by means of a spike of horn or bamboo attached to one end of the chain. The nooses form a succession of wickets encircling perhaps a clump of grass or an open space in the jungle. Two or three such chains may be connected to describe a larger circle. In either case the circle is left open in the direction from which the birds are expected to approach. Grain may be scattered along the path and into the circle, or a decoy cock may be tethered there. If a decoy is not used, a boy hides near at hand until the birds are within the ring and then starts them to running by coming into the open. Otherwise, they wander and pick about until startled by the decoy or something else. In trying to scurry away at least some of the flock thrust their heads through the open loops and pull them tighter and tighter by their struggles to escape. It only remains for the hunter to come and carry off his catches.

224 231 In the Toungoo Hills the Karen hunt with dogs, which they know under the name of "htwi maw seh" and train for use in the chase. These dogs are small, smooth-haired, and allied to the terrier, and follow game with great tenacity. They are highly valued by the Karen, the price of a good one equaling that of an ordinary pony or buffalo. Deer are said to be so afraid of them that they lose strength when pursued by one of these curs and thus become an easy prey for the hunter. While in pursuit the dogs yelp continually. The hunter has only to follow them to be sure of his game in the end. They do not hesitate to trail a species of large snake, which is considered palatable eating by the Karen, but will not attack it. They will pull down a deer and set upon a bear or boar, but stand in fear of tigers and leopards. Indeed, they turn back from the track of a tiger, if they come upon it.

224 Elephant hunting, to which the Karen were much given in the old days, has been revived to a considerable extent in recent years among the Karen of Tavoy and the Tenasserim division. Their practice is to build a large V-shaped stockade and drive the animals into it. At the apex of the stockade they erect a high-fenced enclosure into which tame elephants are sent to mingle with the wild ones. Hunting elephants merely as game is no longer allowed by the Government; but when that practice was tolerated, beaters drove the animals along an elephant-run, while hunters, who were adepts at spear-throwing, stood in wait behind trees and speared

19: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

cepts of the elders, which we have been discussing in this chapter. They constituted a code which, if it had been observed, would have produced a highly developed society, in so far as the virtues are concerned. But, as in the case of many primitive peoples, the Karen have fallen far short of their traditional ideals, a fact manifest, I think, from the record presented in the pages of this volume. It may be said with little fear of contradiction, however, that the Karen have more nearly lived up to the commonly accepted standards of human conduct than some of the other peoples dwelling in their vicinity.

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BUFFALOES AT THEIR DAILY BATH
Nothing seems to delight them more than to wallow in the mud or swim in a stream.

10: Marshall M-5 (ca. 1910) 1922 AP1 Burma
Karen AP7

776 older tribes in the country, but have become the common property of the Karen for several generations back.

773 823 The Titan Atlas of the ancient Greeks, supporting a globe, has his counterpart in "Hai gu maw ya" or "Maw ya," as he is sometimes called. He is a brother of "Y'wa" and holds the world on his shoulders. When he grows weary, he shifts it from one side to the other and thus causes earthquakes. Sometimes the beetles that feed on the refuse of human beings report to him that they are starving, because there are no more people to supply them with food. This so angers him that he shakes himself and produces a series of earth-tremors. As these phenomena are common in Burma, the Karen seek to quiet them by shouting out: "We are still here. We are still here." Work is tabu during the day on which an earthquake occurs.[11]

776 821 The semiannual change of seasons can not but attract the attention of the people living in Burma. For the Karen a company of demons, the "Law," is responsible for the wet season and another group, the "Hku de," for the dry season. The former, who are sometimes named the "Law hpo" (signifying a company of them), are believed to have cities and dwellings in the upper regions, whence they regulate the rainfall and reveal themselves in the thunder and lightning. The flashes of lightning are nothing less than the flapping of their wings and the thunder is the rattle of their flying shafts against their foes, the "Hku de."

824 776 231 The "Law" are also regarded as the source of the fructifying power in all plants and trees that form their fruits in the wet season. The grain is said to be conceiving when the kernels are developing, and the "Law hpo" are said to be the husbands who bring this about. Their function is to provide the plants, especially the paddy which is heading during the latter part of the rainy season, with the "agheu" (the life-giving principle), that is, the vaporous substance that comes from the land of the dead and revives all life on the earth.[12] The scarcity of domestic animals among the Karen is attributed to these demons, who are alleged to have raised such a stifling dust by shooting their shafts against the rocks that the creatures took refuge in the jungle and became wild before they could be caught again.

821 776 The enemies of the "Law," the "Hku de," are also demons of the upper air with a human appearance, but no abiding-place. Dur-

[11] See Chapter XXVIII on Tabu, p. 288.
[12] See Chapter XXI on Religious Conceptions, p. 222.

the purpose of improving the conditions and keeping their crops from being ruined. Failure to observe this custom brings disappointment ("t' kle t htwa"), for one's labor will be worse than useless. On the plains, where they prepare a dirt threshing-floor after the Burman style, it used to be prohibited to drive a cart across it or to walk on it with shoes on. In other sections, where the threshing is done on a great mat, no one may step on it but the members of the family who take part in the work. The succulent shoots of vegetables, which are grown with the paddy, must not be cut with a sharp knife or other instrument, inasmuch as cutting would endanger the "k'la" or life principle of the paddy and scare away the demons that preside over the fields. Both the vegetables and their shoots, the latter being largely used for greens, must be plucked with the fingers. Another tabu prevents the eating of flesh during harvest-time. Any family who should transgress this precept would find, it is believed, that their supply of rice had vanished from the storage bin.

The following examples of tabus relating to domestic animals may be cited. If a sow or bitch has a litter composed only of females, they must all be killed. When less than three chicks are hatched from a nest of eggs, they must be killed. So also must the chick whose down dries fast to the feathers of the mother hen. A crowing hen is likewise doomed to death. These phenomena are supposed to be signs of weakness in the creatures concerned, for which some offended demon is responsible. Such weakness must not be allowed to spread.

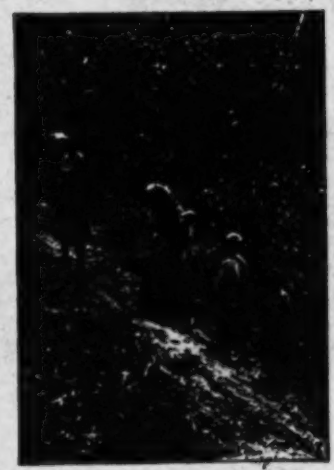
Certain tabus contribute to preserve the integrity of the family through the female line. One of these prevents any outsider from entering a house where the family is celebrating the "Bgha" feasts. Indeed, a tabu debars from such gatherings the men who have married into the family, while those who are privileged to attend must remain in the house during the performance of the rites.

On the plains, where the Karen villagers build separate houses after the manner of the Burmans, persons are forbidden to drive their carts through the village road close enough to the houses to bump against the supporting posts. This tabu, which, in the eyes of a Westerner, partakes of the nature of a town ordinance, is enforced upon the offender by the imposing of a fine, namely, four annas in money or a fowl, payable to the heads of the household con-

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Karen AP7

338. KARENS BRINGING ELEPHANTS TO MARKET

"a spirit of equality, and governed by the moral influence of its natural heads alone." (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I., p. 407.) The chief of these elders is called *Sawkè*; he gives his name to the village. The faults of the Karéns are their dirt, their addiction to drink, and a degree of superstition so extreme that a motherless infant is refused adoption for fear of turning the wrath of a vengeful demon upon the foster-mother. In epidemics of cholera and small-pox the Karéns abandon their villages in panic fear. The Karéns are shorter but of stouter build than the Burmans and Talaings, and of much fairer complexion. But their name of "white" Karén is derived from their clothing. Very characteristic is their short upper arm. Young people of splendid physique may be seen; but the conditions of life are so hard, and malaria is so prevalent in the forests, that the population remains stationary—by the census of 1891, 633,600. The toilsome Karén finds lightness of heart in the liquor he brews, a remarkable contrast to the vivacious and abstinent Burman. The contrast is borne out in the dreary wail of the Karén music and the bright and exuberant cadences of the Burmese. Karén children grow independent very young (No. 355), and begin their heavy outdoor labour soon. Early physical exertion possibly accounts for the second moral quality noted above. The hill-cultivation is greatly at the mercy of the seasons, from burning-time in April to harvest in October. The hardship is aggravated by a superstition of divination-bones (*Kyeyyo*) which often tabooes the most eligible sites. Scarcely have the crops been garnered than the clearing of a fresh site for the village begins.



334. KARENS GOING OUT TO WORK.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Karen 4P7

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336. KARENS CUTTING THEIR CROP.

such an extent that they destroy whole crops and stocks of corn and produce famine. Towards harvest time birds have to be scared again. The rice crop is generally ripe before the last rains fall. A chance break is taken advantage of to cut, dry, and thresh the corn, which is got under cover in a bin on the *taungya*, or *punzo*, as it is called when done with. The secondary crops ripen later. Cucumbers, pumpkins, marrows, brinjals, and other coarse vegetables, and sometimes tomatoes, are sown on the margins and along the pathways. In a good season the Karéns get about double the quantity of grain they need for living. The whole of the secondary crop is for trade. In the moist ravines they cultivate the betel-palm and betel-vine, and they have taken to orange gardening at the foot of the hills. They also collect the wild betel-vine and honey by climbing high trees (No. 362); the tree-ladder is made by driving bamboo spikes into the wood. The only honey of Burma is wild; but bees frequent the limestone caves to such a degree that in some places the right to collect honey and wax in them is farmed out. Honey sells for ten annas and wax for two and a half rupees a viss. The staple food of the Karéns is rice. They make a curry in the Burman way; with it they eat *ngapi*, salt fish or fresh fish, or the flesh of pig and deer, especially the "small deer" they trap at the *taungya*. They keep goats, poultry and pigs, which latter are the scavengers of the villages. But the chief purpose for which these animals are bred is to be killed and offered to the *nats*, who have to be propitiated on all occasions. At every village site and clearing for cultivation a

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[222]

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338. KAREN WOMAN COOKING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Karen AP7

[opp. p 156]

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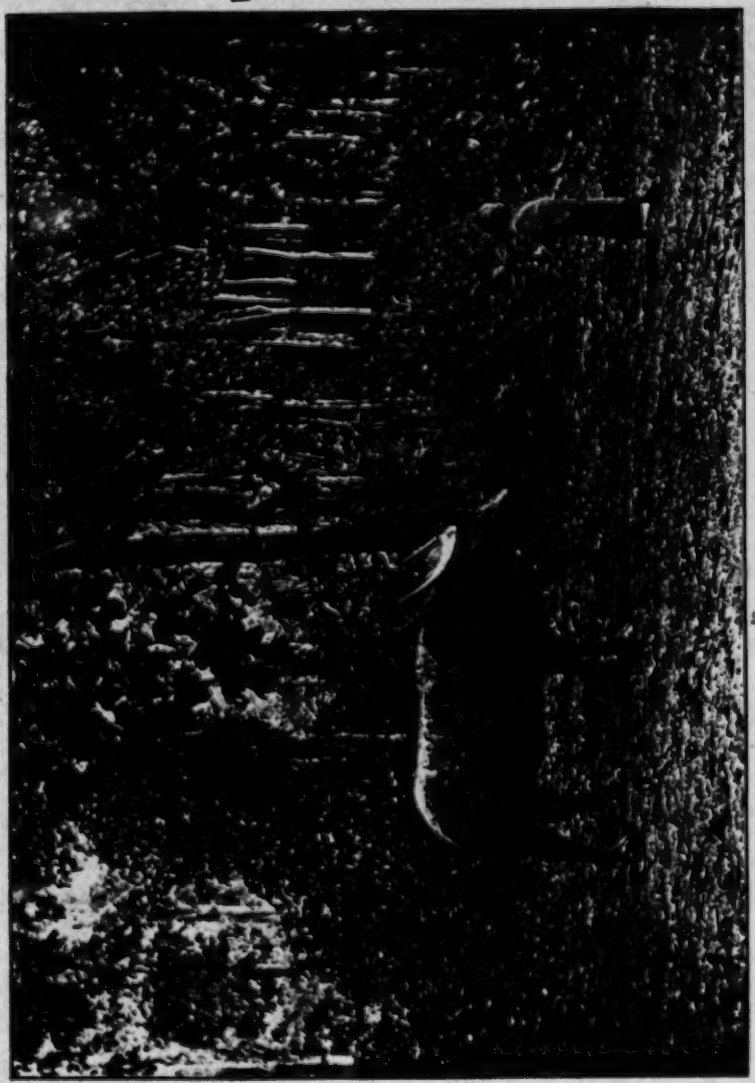

[To face p. 156.

232. BUFFALO LED TO WATER BY KAREN CHILD.

Akha AC4 Karen AP7
Lahu AP13 Wa AP12

K 342 [354] etc. are offered as a sacrifice to the spirits. The fireplace in the center of the single inside room is sunken and rests on a structure made of four posts which rise from under the floor of the hut. Small bamboo pipes containing rice brandy are kept for the house spirits at the entrance to the hut, on the roof, and beneath the fireplace. A pig's skull, a pig's bladder, and a bundle of leaves, together with chicken bones which are used by all the mountain tribes for soothsaying, hang from the rafters. The piles under the house are joined together with crossbeams; the place is used at night as a stable for the buffaloes.

K [782] [776] K [787] K [231]

L 101 342 177 Of the tribes who live in the Southern Shan States, particularly in Kentung and the adjoining areas, the Lahu or Muhsö--1911: 18,103--and the kindred Kwi (26)--1911: 3,189--build

26. UBG I, 1 pp. 576 ff.

A 342 their houses either in the Shan style, or, sometimes in the style of the Wa or Yao; the Akha or Kaw (27) together with the AKo--1911: 37,300

27. Ibid., pp. 588 ff.

--have houses which are raised by low piles. Most of them have only one single overcrowded and neglected interior room.

W 101 Of more interest and importance are the Wa (28).

28. Ibid., pp. 493 ff.; about village and house layouts, pp. 498 ff., 503 ff. Also G. Drage, A Few Notes on Wa (Rangoon, 1907), pp. 34 ff.

A few of the tribes of the "tame" Wa live in Kengtung, Manglun and the adjacent Shan regions --1911: 14,674. Some of them, after embracing